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Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the escaping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

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Other Skins. Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

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So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

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Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

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The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin, also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

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The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

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The decoration on the outer coat consisted of insertions of white fur, and, on the whole, varied little from one coat to another. Covering each breast were two broad thrusts of this fur, edged at times (particularly among east Coronation Gulf natives) with stripes of dehaired skin, stained red; between them often ran a narrow vertical strip of the same material. All the borders were fringed with white, one or, less often, two narrow white bands paralleled the edges of the tail and hood, and one or two encircled or half encircled each upper arm. 294

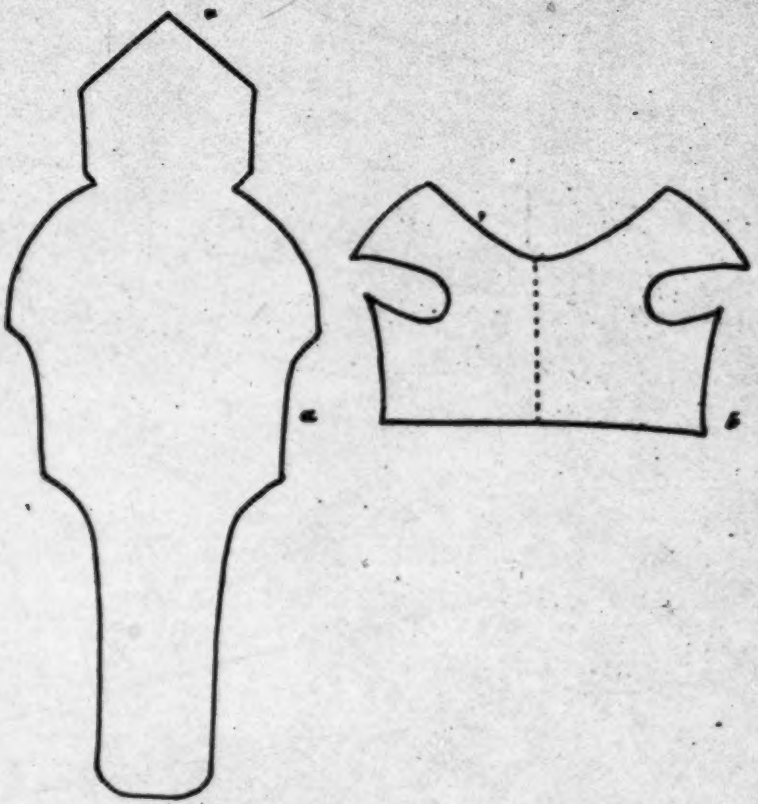

Figure 4. Pattern of man's inner coat; a: back; b: front.

Strings of white fur 6 inches or so long hung down from the edges, from the backs of the shoulders and the hood, and from the white armbands. In Coronation Gulf these strings were generally spaced evenly and formed continuous lines, but in Dolphin and Union Strait it was more usual to group them in clusters of three or four. The frontispiece, and Figures 5 and 6, show the striking effect produced by the white insertions on the background of plain brown fur. [184]

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In these decorated outer coats the white front stained rather easily, and the high waist was unsuitable for travelling in cold weather because it gave inadequate protection to the stomach. The latter defect could be partly remedied by slightly lengthening the front of the inner coat so that it would overlap the trousers by several inches. This the Eskimo often did. Even so, however, they generally reserved the short-waisted outer coat for evening wear, or for occasions when they wished to appear well dressed; and they wore for working and midwinter travelling an outer coat of heavy winter caribou fur that was nearly as long in front as behind, and that carried no decoration beyond an occasional white armband.[1] Many natives at the east end of Coronation Gulf, and one or two at the west end, affected a compromise garment; they wore both at home, and when travelling, a coat of moderately light fur that in pattern and decoration conformed to the style of the short-waisted coat, and could, therefore, take its place on ceremonial occasions, but which reached in front nearly to the knees, sometimes even below, and adequately protected the body in stormy weather[2]; on warm days it was often "pinned up" by hooking loops of sinew from the bottom edge to small toggles of wood attached around the waist. These same natives, however, nearly always possessed the heavier, undecorated coat so serviceable for midwinter sealing, and even at times the short-waisted coat. In such cases they occasionally dispensed with a hood on the latter garment, as it was no longer needed for outdoor wear.

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We encountered in Bathurst Inlet a native who had modelled his coat on the style current among the Back River and other Eskimo living inland on the Barren Grounds. The tail, instead of being narrow and rather oblong, was broad and rounded, and separated from the equally long and rounded front only by a deep slit up each side. Long strings of dehaired caribou skin hung in a close-set fringe from all the lower border.

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Nearly all Eskimo men possessed still another outer coat, made not from caribou fur, but from the skin of the common foetid seal. It had the same shape as the heavy winter sealing and travelling coat, but was generally a little shorter, seldom reaching as far as the knees. It served primarily as a raincoat during the damp days of summer when caribou fur sheds its hair, but a few natives wore it also for sealing during the months of May and early June when the snow is wet and soggy. Naturally, it was never decorated; even its bottom edge was seldom trimmed evenly, but often retained the holes through which the green skins had been pegged out to dry (Figure 7).

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Inner and Outer Trousers. In winter, men wore two pairs of caribou-fur trousers (*qaqlik*), with the fur of the inner, as usual, against the body, and the fur of the outer turned outwards; in summer they laid aside the outer pair and wore only the inner, still with its fur inward. Both were approximately of the same length, barely overlapping the tops of the stockings; occasionally the inner pair was one-half inch to an inch longer (Figure 8). This inner pair was not decorated in any way, but often had a fringe of long-haired fur around the bottom, to protect the knees, as neither the inner nor the outer trousers carried drawstrings to bind them around the legs. The inner were often made from the heavy winter fur of the caribou, whereas for the outer, light summer skins were preferred, except for midwinter sealing. Most outer trousers were decorated on the legs; some carried bands of coloured skin at the bottom similar to those on stockings (Figure 9); others, a wide edging of white fur, and two or three narrower bands above; others again, combined these two types of decoration, or displayed more palpable geometrical designs in white bands. Most of the outer trousers had a drawstring around the waist that issued at the back through two

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[1] For a photograph of a native wearing such a garment *See* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 52, p. 294.

[2] For a photograph *See* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. B, Plate VII (lower right).

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29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

on the first occasion by holding a private party at which they shared the white man's food—tea, hard bread, and chocolate. When I left them in charge again the following day they immediately trimmed the lamp, placed a pot of water over the flame to boil, and set out the cups for another afternoon tea.

These Eskimos of Dolphin and Union Strait forbade any cooking of caribou meat on the sea during the winter months, believing that it would cause the ice under their settlement to upheave and engulf them. Eskimos living farther to the eastward were less scrupulous, and often cooked caribou meat when they were camped on bay ice that was not likely to crack under the stress of a winter storm. But a strong current passes through Dolphin and Union Strait, and new cracks and pressure ridges make their appearance as late as the end of January. The regulation was therefore rigidly observed by the local Eskimos, who often warned us against infringing it at Putulik, even though their settlement was only a few yards from the shore. Palaiyak, my western Eskimo, who had outgrown most of these superstitions, was more annoyed than I that we should be compelled to eat our venison raw, or else carry it to Bernard Harbour, where our house was built on solid ground. We avoided the regulation in the following winter by a subterfuge. The Eskimos then built their settlement closer to the beach, and the hut in which we were living had rock, not ice,